

anarchist weekly Freedom

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Something Rotten in the State of England

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WE DON'T GIVE A DAMN for Rudi Dutschke's politics; what we have is this sinking feeling in the pit of our stomach. For much more important than any detail concerned with this individual case are the basic principles involved.

One of these principles has been the separation of the executive from the judiciary. In other words, although the Government makes the laws, it is the prerogative of the judiciary to interpret them, as it is of the police (though under the control of the Home Office) to operate them.

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It's all there: the march on 1984!

It's there for you!

But perhaps we should not dwell too much on the power-hungry nature of governments, but more on the servile nature of their subjects.

How is it that there is not more awareness of what is happening in freedom in Britain? How is it that the opposition to the Labour Relations Act can be contained by the official trades unions instead of being the signal for a massive and angry uprising by the whole working class against the Government? How is it that millions of ordinary people do not see that the state apparatus which makes the Dutschke tribunals possible is there to control **them**?

How is it that a nation which believes itself to be free—and indeed is much freer than most other nations—can allow basic freedoms, basic principles of government, 'checks and balances' and long established and hard-won rights to be pulled away from under our very noses?

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anarchist **Freedom** weekly

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Undoubtedly, in a class-divided society like ours, the executive and the judiciary tend to be of the same class, operating the laws against the rest of us. Similarly, although we have a Press which is 'independent' of the Government, it almost unanimously supports the status quo, although having quibbles with details of a particular government's policy.

But, in principle, the Press is independent. In principle the judiciary is independent. And while we have people jealous of their prerogatives, as Editors and Judges are, some

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NO COINCIDENCE

It is, in our opinion, most sinister that the Government of Great Britain has been able to hold its secret tribunal on Rudi Dutschke, to be its own prosecutor, judge and jury and to condemn him in his absence without any opportunity to answer the 'evidence' against him; without, in fact, any access to the basic principles of 'British Justice' as it proclaims itself, at the same

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IN PREVENTING and breaking strikes, and in using methods unfair even by bourgeois standards, the record of Citroën is amongst the worst in Europe. Their refusal to recognise even reformist unions and their insistence that workers join the staff associations set up by the management have caused French unions to organise a boycott of their products for some time now.

One tactic is to set up a factory in an area of low wages and high unemployment such as Brittany. Not content with these advantages, the management then refuse to offer a job to the wife of any worker known as a militant or even as a union member. With the cost of sheer existence in France being as high as it is, most families need two wage-earners to make ends meet or at least approach each other. Another advantage to the management in setting up a factory in a sparsely populated rural area is that often the worker will have to spend four or five hours each day in travelling to and from work, often in inadequate transport organised by Citroën. To exhaust the workers both physically and mentally is obviously a very good way of stopping them from thinking too much.

Another tactic is the one that the management tried to use in Brussels, a tactic that has been quite successful in big towns that have a fair number of immigrant workers amongst their population (Italians, Algerians, Spaniards, Portuguese, Greeks, Africans and many others), this is to try and divide the workers by language (and this makes organisation difficult) but what is far worse, to try and divide the workers by

appealing to and creating a sense of nationalism and racialism. In the Brussels assembly plant (parts are sent here for assembly for the Belgian market), the 700 production line workers (mainly immigrant) have been in dispute with the management for a year over piece work rates. The union bureaucracy was of little help, its 'solution' solved nothing. It didn't really want to know about immigrants.

An unofficial strike then started, much to the surprise of the management. Except to point out that the solidarity of the workers was exemplary, the main interest lies in the management tactics. 'Strike leaders' were dismissed, the police were encouraged to use brutality with the pickets and new workers were brought in from France, over 100 miles away. Some of these were police in disguise—soon unmasked due to their total ignorance of factory life. The shabbiest effort of the management was to try and propose deals to each national group, e.g. if all the Greeks went back, then only the Turks would be sacked, etc.

To date, the unions have refused to recognise the strike citing the ingratitude of the workers in turning down the agreement made in their names but over their heads by the union bureaucracy. The workers see their main chance in solidarity action by factories making the components sent to Brussels. We in this country can do little except to become aware of the problem and symbolically show where we stand by making the facts known and by refusing to buy any Citroën cars.

TONY LEVENE.

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Keep the boys out of the army. It is hell. Down with the army and navy. We don't need killing institutions. We need life-giving institutions.

THESE WORDS were written by Jack London, the American writer about sixty years ago. Recently they appeared in *Act*, the newsletter for Resisters inside the Army, published in Paris by 'Rita Act' for American Servicemen. They were reprinted from *OM*, a naval serviceman's newspaper published by Roger Priest (stationed in the Pentagon). *OM* has apparently been suspended because Roger Priest was put on trial, now it has been succeeded by a paper with the evocative name of *Potemkin* (this was the battleship which mutinied in the Russian Fleet in 1905). There is also said to be a paper called *SACrified* for circulation in the Air Force. There are an estimated fifty papers of this type written and published by GIs serving in Europe and other stations. They bear such titles as *We've Got the Brass*, *Fed Up*, *Where It's At*, *Shakedown*, *Bragg Briefs*, *Up Against the Wall* and *Graffiti*. The appearance

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It is possible that the circulation figures are insignificant but it has been stated that in 1969 500 soldiers per day went 'absent without leave', the figure for deserters in the Vietnam war was 57,000 in 1969, and it is claimed that the figures have doubled for 1970. One of the accepted anarchist attitudes to war is that of Schweik-ism, that is allowing oneself eventually to be conscripted into the army but once in there to try every possible way to get a discharge (honourable or otherwise) and at the same time sabotage as much of the military effort as possible.

The number of men following this course are probably few but this is only the tip of the iceberg and the military have no way of knowing how big the iceberg really is and whether or not it will sink their ship of war. As it is, the American Army seems to have a very practical approach to the subject; if they detect any man with radical views they try (a) to break his spirit by petty harassments, (b) frame him on a non-radical charge, or (c) discharge him from the forces after a trial. This is widely known and doubtless used by GIs wishing to get out of the army.

When conscription ended in Britain a tribute to conscientious objectors appeared in *FREEDOM* under the title 'Salute the Cowards' which was completely misunderstood by some. One would stress that taking up such a position as Schweik-ism or as a conscientious objector one **may** be motivated by cowardice, indeed **allowing** oneself to be called up may simply be in order to avoid the shame, disgrace and almost certain imprisonment of an American non-religious objector. On the other hand cowardice is a self-preserving instinct which governments would do well to cultivate for their own survival. An army of heroes would be wiped out in a week. But once such a stand as desertion or non-co-operation with the army has been taken there is no time for cowardice.

For example, Terry Klug was a deserter in 1967, came to Europe, contacted other war resisters and worked with the American Serviceman's Union. In January 1969 he decided to give himself up and in April 1969 was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. Whilst in the stockade at Fort Dix, Klug took part in the rebellion of 150 prisoners against cruel and dehumanizing conditions. Thirty-eight prisoners, including Terry Klug, were sent to trial for their part in the rebellion. Word of conditions in Fort Dix spread and 10,000 people (including GIs) demonstrated against prison conditions. The military were forced to use military police from outside the area to keep order, they were unwise enough to use tear gas thus the demonstration got more publicity.

When Terry Klug came to trial, it would seem that such was the publicity gained by Terry and the general awareness of conditions in Fort Dix stockade that he was acquitted on all charges. However, Jeff Russell, who was involved in the same riot, got three years and other cases are pending.

Terry Klug is only one case among many Good GI Schweiks. GIs have sup-

Continued on page 3

SUBSCRIPTIONS

We have now finished sending out all the various types of renewal notices, but use this instead to ask subscriptions which expired with the last issue of 'Freedom' of 1970.

As these constitute the bulk of our list, we'll not be sending separate notice, with the exception of those you to try and renew as soon as possible, if you have not already done so.

1971 rates are published in this issue.

FOR A FREE IRELAND

THE MANCHESTER MARTYRS. A Fenian Tragedy, by Paul Rose. Lawrence and Wishart. 25/-.
DUBLIN CASTLE AND THE 1916 RISING, by Leon O. Broin. Sidgwick and Jackson. 50/-.

IRISH PEOPLE have long memories, and William Allen, Michael Larkin, and Michael O'Brien (known as Gould until he told his real name during the trial) are as fresh in the hearts of today as they were a hundred years ago. Veritably we were taught of them in our cradles, and sang 'God save Ireland sang the heroes' as soon as we could lisp. Likewise no one will ever forget Patrick Pearse, Joseph Plunkett and James Connolly and the others murdered after the 1916 rising. The only people who always forget and never learn are the British, who, to this very day, think they can turn the Irish into nice little Englishmen by mailed fists and brute force and imprisonments and killings.

BOOK REVIEW

Paul Rose has written a tender, understanding, heart-rending book. The springing of Colonel Kelly and Captain Deasy from the van on their way to gaol in Manchester was successful and led to the arrest and execution of the Manchester Martyrs, as they are still known. They died willingly for Ireland Free, something still unknown and denied to us.

During the rescue of Kelly and Deasy, a policeman was shot dead in the van, and other prisoners in the van hoped to gain leniency for themselves by testifying against the five men, three of whom suffered the extreme penalty. The men declared their complete innocence of murder to the very last, and only the unending hatred of the English for the Irish

led to their final execution on the flimsiest of evidence. It was plain they were political prisoners and not felons. The trial was a farce. O'Hegarty, in his *History of Ireland Under the Union*, wrote, 'One man, Peter Rice, thought he would shoot out the lock and fired a shot through the keyhole. Brett, the policeman inside the van, unfortunately had his eye to the keyhole and the bullet killed him.' The same view is accepted by Jules Abels who states a sledgehammer had been inadvertently left behind.

Witnesses of the springing spoke of 50 to 60 men, others of only 20, some of a whole arsenal of revolvers: why were no revolvers produced? Mr. Justice Blackburne advised the jury that 'There was strong evidence that it was intended to kill Brett'.

As soon as the verdict was given, forty-odd members of the Press submitted that the verdict against Thomas Maguire of the Royal Marines arose out of mistaken identity, which posed a problem for the authorities who were outraged that trained Press men with no axe to grind should take the unprecedented step of petitioning the Home Secretary.

Such a furore was raised that Maguire was given a 'Free Pardon', England's odd way of letting the innocent go. That left four men in the condemned cells under the selfless care of Monsignor Gadd.

On November 22 *The Times* was able to announce the commutation of the sentence on O'Meagher Condon on the grounds that he was unarmed when apprehended. A plausible excuse for the far more compelling reason that England feared antagonizing America (as she still does) and Condon was an American citizen.

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The issue has been brought into the open by the Community Relations Officer in Newham, Jerry Westall, who has been investigating the case of a 24-year-old West African nurse. 'Confidential inquiries have revealed to me that there have been other incidents of this type reported to the police', reports Mr. Westall and a senior police officer expresses the concern of the police by

The case Mr. Westall is investigating is different in that when the nurse refused to sleep with her landlord she was evicted by changing the lock on the door of the house. This was illegal and Newham Council are investigating the case.

Jerry Westall is quoted in the *Sun* as saying: 'Many girls will not come forward and give evidence because they would rather not make a fuss. But I appeal to any young girl in this sort of trouble to contact me in confidence and I will help her.'

I hope readers of *FREEDOM* will do this if they have any relevant information. I also hope that the rights of the individual under the Rent Act (the result of the Rachman/Profumo affairs) will be made more widely known: (1) A

Martyrs, as they are still known. They died willingly for Ireland Free, something still unknown and denied to us.

During the rescue of Kelly and Deasy, a policeman was shot dead in the van, and other prisoners in the van hoped to gain leniency for themselves by testifying against the five men, three of whom suffered the extreme penalty. The men declared their complete innocence of murder to the very last, and only the unending hatred of the English for the Irish

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The *Stratford Express* reporter spoke to nurses in Newham and quotes one as saying: 'This does go on. It affected me personally last year when my landlord made suggestions to me. His intentions were quite obvious and I left.'

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Let us at least make use of the little power the people have forced into the law books—a local Council has power to prosecute if the Rent Act is broken by a landlord.

KALI.

The Editors will pass on in confidence any information relating to this topic to Jerry Westall if readers contact *FREEDOM*.

afib

All correspondence to
**Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16**

**ANARCHIST
FEDERATION
of BRITAIN**

AFBIB—To all Groups.

Next AFBIB Meeting and Production, Sunday, February 7. Please send a delegate to Birmingham. (Accommodation provided if necessary.) Address all letters to:

Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham, 16. Tel. 021-454 6871. Material that cannot wait for the bulletin to be sent to R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York. The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is also available for urgent information. Groups should send latest addresses to Birmingham. New inquirers should

write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham.

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

North West Federation: Secretary, Les Smith, 47 Clarence Street, Primrose, Lancaster.
Cornwall: A. Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell. (Ma, B.)
Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, FL.)
Surrey: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.
Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, Flat D, 90 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9L.
Scotland: Temporary Secretary, Neil Munro, 203 Cornhill Drive, Aberdeen.
Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.
University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare. (Abbreviations: M—meeting; Ma—magazine; B—badges; Q—Quarterly; FL—free leaflets)

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Towards the end of last term reliable information reached certain nasty subversive students that the university had in fact invested more than £500,000 in SA companies and that this investment, being 74% of the university's total investment, actually exceeded the 'legal' limit of 7% set by the last Labour Government.

A general meeting of students was held, which passed overwhelmingly SRC motions calling for the liquidation of these shares by January 31, and for the Principal's resignation. The Court have since called on the SRC to prove that the companies invested in do actively support apartheid, and Swann has refused to resign. We await the result of the next Court meeting on January 25 before deciding our next moves.

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This book should be compulsory reading for all Westminster and Stormont MPs and TDs of the Dail, and Orangemen wheresoever they be.

The Rising of 1916 and the reaction of the Castle Civil Servants and the British to it, makes extraordinary reading. So devious were the ways of men like Sir Matthew Nathan, an English Jew who did have some love for the Irish people and was a friend of Dorothy Stopford. Starkie, the Education Commissioner, said that knowing his *damnosa hereditas* he always sympathized with Nathan in his job in Ireland and it was a tragedy his relations with the Irish should have ended as they did. Augustine Birrell was a far less likeable and understandable man.

The ferocity of General Sir John Maxwell, Lord French and Winston Churchill against the Irish are known to all; as are Asquith's ditherings—though it can be said of him that he saved the Countess Markievicz from execution—and the hatred of Lloyd George.

Bernard Shaw, though no lover of Sinn Fein, protested publicly against the policy of shooting the prisoners first, and telling the public after they were dead.

James Connolly was wounded already, but carried out on a chair as he was unable to stand and shot thus.

The men were shot in cold blood after of war and it was entirely incorrect to their surrender when they were prisoners slaughter them. Perhaps the real villain

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of the piece was Sir Edward Carson, in that he worked on Birrell and Nathan so blatantly they were made scapegoats of his unyielding Unionism.

Neither of these books will endear the British to the Irish or help the two countries to learn to live in peace, living and letting live.

They have reduced your reviewer to memories of men she loved and tears, also pride she is Irish and can still work for the freedom of Ireland and the world.

H.

Contact

Contact Column is for making contact! Use is free, but donations towards typesetting costs are welcome

Help Required for Community/Social Action, Hammersmith (Barons Court, West Kensington, Shepherds Bush). Several Projects under way. Comrades who live locally needed. Plenty of work to do. All interested phone Reg 603 0550.

To: John Underwood and Peter Howley, Nr. Tadcaster, Yorks. As we have not heard from you since we replied on November 23 in answer to your letter of November 19, we can only assume something happened to it. From January 23 we will have someone nearer to you, so why not contact Dave and Ella, c/o Grahame & Jeanette, 11 Melton Road, Kettlethorpe, Wakefield, Yorks.

1971 World Anarchist Congress, August 1 to 4 in France—exact place will be notified. Contact CRIFA, 132 Rue de Paris, 94—Charenton, France.

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SCOT'S STUDENTS against Apartheid

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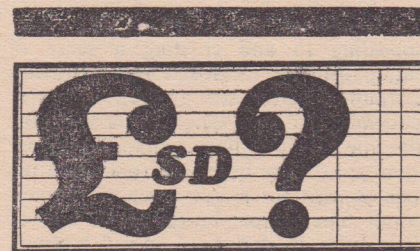
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T.



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The Anarchists. 1/- P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000, Australia.

The Ad Hoc Basis of Revolutionary Organisation. The notorious article by Terry Phillips (originally published in FREEDOM) is soon to be republished as a duplicated leaflet. Available free from: Corby Anarchist Press, 70 Blenheim Walk, Corby, Northants.

Exeter Group. Anyone interested in getting a group together contact: Nigel Outten, Westeria House, Cullompton Hill, Bradninch, Exeter. If possible, please write first.

George Foulser, now squatting as No. 090123, HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton, S.W.2. Letters, books welcome.

Durham Anarchists—new group being formed. Contact Mike Mogie, 8 Mavin Street.

Proposed Group: Kingston - on - Thames and surrounding area. Write to Roger Willis, 69 Woodlands Avenue, New Malden, Surrey.

Comrades in Plymouth wishing to form group or just meet other anarchists. Contact: John Northey, 16 Adelaide Street, Stonehouse, Plymouth.

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Now, about those Women . .

ONE OF THE 'predictions for 1971' circulating around the media has been that this will be the year of Women's Liberation—of the movement, that is, not of course in actuality. Accordingly, BBC Radio 4 filled part of the yawning gap left by 'Today in Parliament' with a series of programmes investigating 'Militant Women', January 4-8, conducted by Sue Macgregor (one of the girls who has made it in a man's world). To indicate briefly some of the points covered:

Monday. Members of London Liberation workshops talked about importance of getting women to work together, help each other; restated main demands—free contraception, abortion, and equality of opportunity.

Tuesday. Germaine Greer and Eva Figs. Good anti-marriage statements. Germaine on mind-expanding possibilities of women co-operating, relying on themselves instead of on men. Eva emphasising specific grievances, advocating reforms within system.

Wednesday. Liberation group in Bristol, engaged in spreading word by leafletting, dialogue; focus on contraception issue. Discussion on position of men in the movement—some tending to favour their exclusion, limited participation, but someone said they must become involved and struggle broadened to achieve human

liberation.

Thursday. Groups of women outside the Liberation mainstream, forced by circumstances, by what society inflicts on them as women, to organise and become militant. Unmarried mothers, for whom economic necessity is added to other motives for liberatory change. Female Trade Unionists, demanding equal pay now, conscious of ways in which they will probably be cheated; describing growing militancy and consciousness of working women. Finally, a spokeswoman for night cleaners in City office blocks outlined the terrible conditions of existence of women who have to work nights, because they can't afford day nurseries for their children, and look after children during the day—a working week with 5 hours sleep, earning £10-£13, prevented by employers' intimidation from joining union; she promised militant action soon on trade union demands.

After this, Sue Macgregor's upper-class chuckle about militant cleaning-women being an alarming prospect struck a jarring note. Significant that she refrained from stereotyped snide responses to other interviewees—the class issue asserts itself.

Friday. 'Working women', who turned out to be successful professional careerists, put some specific objections and doubts regarding the movement to

two of the Workshop group. Discussion was academic and didn't add much; Juliet Mitchell ended by emphasising beneficial effects on women of co-operation and self-activity in practice. Favourable summing-up by Sue Macgregor—women with obvious grievances, voice determined to be heard.

The features of the women's movement most open to criticism are its separatist and reformist tendencies, which interact. Exclusively female groups may find their activity self-defeating, not because they can achieve nothing unaided, but because they may simply be helping each other to fulfil traditional roles more easily and efficiently. If child-care centres are staffed always by women, if the same tedious household tasks are still the province of the female sex, our inferior status will not have changed. Men might easily encourage such a movement (it keeps them off the streets). And the assertion that women together tend to organise in a more libertarian manner is highly dubious. Surely this is only true in the context of liberation, and in a similar context men too become less authoritarian. After all, both sexes are subject to authoritarian conditioning; and if it were true that the oppressed sector is more likely to see through the process, the task of revolutionaries in a wider context would be simple. We can envisage new potentialities for companionship, including possibly sexuality, among women, but also for comradeship, with the sexual element less dominant, among people in general.

There are certain specific demands which are pre-eminently worth making, and of primary concern to women. On

contraception and abstinence, celibacy, and the like, are against us. But the purely reformist proposals are dubious. The dilemma is justified in trying to bearable for some term, thus confirming oppression. The end must be accompanied by revolutionary propaganda limitations.

Failure to take account of conflicts within society, of conditions of production, of men as well as women, temporarily to ignore serious weakness. To say 'We don't want equality' But 'equality of opportunity' mean an equal right to be exploited, unless radical comes first.

Many of these arguments being put forward by the movement, who really outlined. Perhaps the fact that a women's movement cannot get beyond Suffragettes' organisational specific issues across class confrontation of First World War, and the revolutionary priorities, putting first.

This is not to dismiss in its entirety. The which it is concerned irrelevant, and any ignoring them is in order to extend approval to improving their own activity and mutual aid; and this is relevant as a whole attitude

THIS WEEK IN IRELAND

WE HAVE HAD our usual quota of explosions, murders, bank robberies and our normal daily life in this island!

Today there starts quite the most extraordinary investigation that even this land of extraordinary happenings has ever known. It is an enquiry into what was done with the £100,000 the Government got from the Red Cross, private subscriptions and other means for 'relief for the six counties' after the pogroms up there. Since the Arms Trial it has been suspected that at any rate some of this money was used for arms. This enquiry is not a trial. No one is charged with any offence, but under recent legislation witnesses can be compelled to appear and give evidence on oath. Some of the hearing will be in public and some in private.

In a civil trial, if the judge sees fit he can send the papers to the Attorney General if the evidence seems to be such as warrants a criminal trial, i.e. perjury. Will the Committee investigating this case have the power to alert the Attorney General? No, apparently. They must only report to the Dail and leave matters to them, and we all know what that means. It is probable that both Charles Haughey and Charles Murray, Secretary of the Ministry of Finance, will be called. It is impossible to dissuade the public from thinking that certain people will be protected

desires to have to fight America or Russia. As an entity Ireland will cease to exist. Now we supply cheap labour to England. With the coming of the Common Market we will supply it to all Europe and there will be more broken families and more starvation among the old and children.

In the six counties the fight for the Harland and Wolff shipyards continues, Swan Hunter, Onassis, the Norwegian Olsen and even the yard itself all seeking to take over.

Stormont is pushing on with its idea of a 1971 festival to commemorate 50 years of Unionist misrule and to attract tourists to the six counties. They seem to be surprised that they had few tourists last year.

The hard-liners, and even the not quite so hard, are determined to hold every Orange and Black Parade as usual this year whatever bans the Government puts on. These Mularkies which masquerade as semi-religious are largely coat-trailers to annoy the minority. Take the burning of the effigy of Colonel Lundy in Derry at Christmas. The police forbade the burning on the walls just above the Bogside, but after a service in the Cathedral at which the Rev. James Clarke, Presbyterian minister, objected to people who called the participants bigots or coat-trailers, those who had just emerged from the Cathedral

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The people of Ireland become more and more anti-EEC as they begin to realise that it will mean vastly increased emigration, enormous rises in prices, already far too high, and even more unemployment than we have at present. The Government, however, with their vested interests, are determined to push ahead and get Ireland in by hook or by crook regardless of the wishes of the electorate. Ireland, by reason of its geographical position, will be the launching pad for every filthy weapon that the third great world power, Europe,

desires to have to fight America or Russia. As an entity Ireland will cease to exist. Now we supply cheap labour to England. With the coming of the Common Market we will supply it to all Europe and there will be more broken families and more starvation among the old and children.

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Mr. Childers, the Minister of Health, declared, in an interview with Fergus Pyle of the *Irish Times*, that the majority of the people were behind the Government in their internment without trial threat, and Fianna Fail still yap about kidnapping plots. They are trying very hard to convince themselves!

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Nr. Colchester, Essex

THE GOOD G.I. SCHWEIK

Continued from page 1

ported Indians in their claims, taken part in peace demonstrations, threatened officers, refused to become military policemen, denounced officers' participating in black-market deals, opened GI coffee-houses for anti-war propaganda and in short made useless soldiers.

The aims of the ASU seem to be purely reformist but taken to their logical conclusions they are revolutionary. Their ten-point programme of aims is as follows:

1. The right to refuse to obey illegal orders—like orders to fight in the illegal, imperialist war in Southeast Asia.
2. Election of officers by vote of the men.
3. An end to saluting and sir-ing of officers.

4. The right of black- and brown-skinned servicemen to determine their own lives free from the oppression of any racist whites. No troops to be sent into black or Spanish-speaking communities.
5. No troops to be used against anti-war demonstrators.
6. No troops to be used against workers on strike.
7. Rank-and-file control of court-martial boards.
8. The right of free political association.
9. Federal minimum wages.
10. The right of collective bargaining.

No army (or indeed State) could maintain itself with such aims fulfilled.

The only Good Soldier is a Schweik!

JACK ROBINSON.

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There are certain specific demands which are pre-eminently worth making, and of primary concern to women. On

contraception and abortion, let no fucking man, or celibate one either, speak against us. But the implications of a purely reformist programme are more dubious. The dilemma is whether one is justified in trying to make life more bearable for some people in the short term, thus confirming their long-term oppression. The effect is to make the slaves happier. Agitation on reforms must be accompanied by constant revolutionary propaganda to emphasise their limitations.

Failure to take account of other conflicts within society, of the existing relations of production and their effects on men as well as women, or at least temporarily to ignore them, is another serious weakness. There are those who say 'We don't want equality of drudgery'. But 'equality of opportunity' can only mean an equal right to exploit or be exploited, unless radical social change comes first.

Many of these arguments are already being put forward by women within the movement, who recognise the dangers outlined. Perhaps they should face the fact that a women's movement, as such, cannot get beyond suffragettism. The Suffragettes organised as women on specific issues across class lines, but when class confrontation occurred, during the First World War, the movement split, and the revolutionary elements changed their priorities, putting the social struggle first.

This is not to dismiss 'Women's Lib' in its entirety. The basic questions with which it is concerned are far from irrelevant, and any revolutionary critique ignoring them is incomplete. It is easy to extend approval to groups involved in improving their environment by self-activity and mutual aid against oppression; and this is really what the movement as a whole attempts to do.

Liz W.

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has of the homeless, not that this is any news to anarchists. If they choose to continue with their present attitude we will take more drastic action to bring our case to the notice of the public, but we are not going to give our plan of action away to the enemy.

A wider, community based, housing action group has been formed, so that even if Burrell House fails (which we hope it won't) the struggle will still go on. This group will support squatters, oppose sell-out deals with the Council, fight evictions, ensure that the Council keeps its flats and houses in good condition, fight rent increases, oppose the building of houses and flats without proper facilities for recreation and facilities for children and old people, and help the homeless in every way possible.

This group needs more active support,



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This group needs more active support, so if you live in the area and can help, contact us at Burrell House or Freedom Press. We have had support from many outside organisations and by co-ordinating this support we hope to become a permanent headache to the housing departments of both this borough and the GLC.

MIKE O'SULLIVAN.

EXIT ONE MILITANT

Dear Comrades,

I am surprised that Bill Dwyer should find it necessary ('This World', 9.1.71) to drag in criticism of one individual communist's lapse to attack the Communist Party. The fact that one indi-

LETTER

vidual communist was corrupted by payment of £3,000 is one of the sad tragedies of modern life, dominated as it is by the cash nexus—it is hardly surprising when somebody falls for it! The defection of Will Paynter to a semi-official post—since quitted—was probably more open to criticism.

It is very rare that the economic advantage lures people into the Communist Party. All too often, alas! they are self-sacrificing Puritanical types all too ready to dominate others for psychological satisfaction. What happens in Eastern Europe is an exercise in the operation of power not primarily in economics. We all have to make some compromise with the capitalist system—that's why we want to get rid of it!

Nr. Colchester, Essex JACK ROBINSON.

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THE LATEST OZ bills itself as the 'End of an Era' edition. This isn't merely because the magazine is faced with annihilation by the present court case. In a leading article, Richard Neville describes various recent developments which he believes indicate that the new revolutionary movement is being dissipated and, in some ways, perverted. What he says strikes me as very accurate, and ties up with what I said in a couple of articles in FREEDOM last summer. This being the case, it is relevant to ask why things have gone wrong, and what is coming next.

We know the pattern of things. Life proceeds in cycles of birth, preservation and death. The period between death and rebirth, however, is the most painful and confusing. People crave the faith to sustain themselves. Yet, so often, faith and love have been strained beyond endurance. What often happens is that they recede into themselves and tool themselves up to survive in an alien and stultifying world by reinvoking self-interest and self-assertive willpower. Everything in fact reverts to a narrowly individualistic struggle with all the erosion of caring, sensitivity and outgoingness that that involves. It's a kind of adjustment to 'reality', to 'Things As They Are', with ideals rejected, or shelved. We're back at Stage One.

This seems to me to be very much what's happened. It's very much my experience of people at the moment. And a very painful experience as I discover so many old friends 'changed', having become realistic, adapted. Whole areas of former contact are eroded, sympathies turned to antipathies and a kind of inexorable deadness the prevailing mood of things.

Probably the most influential British thinker of recent years was R. D. Laing. The theories he propounded in his books were not strikingly original, being rather a synthesis of a whole gamut of existing positions. What unified them, however, was his passionate belief in humanity, in human beings in their own terms—in terms of their own experience. This lent his work a dynamic and genuine human warmth and clear insight which, it was then apparent, were what were conspicuously lacking in all those other works purporting to be about us and our life.

Laing was an extremist. He held no brief for concepts of relative sanity or adjustment. For him, the basic axiom was that we are all hopelessly alienated: estranged from our true selves and from others, marooned in an insane society whose concrete and institutional structures are dedicated to the perpetuation of this devastation, even to an enlargement of it to embrace new and more terrible forms of violence and madness—although always masquerading under the vestments of positive virtue. Thus, when two people stand before each other, the

THE NEW DARK AGE

only thing they can honestly assert is the lack of a real relationship. A nullity, a void. The cosmological nothing.

In a twisted world of false values, the recognition of this nothing is the repository of our greatest hope. For once it is fully experienced and embraced the possibility of creating a new and more positive world becomes apparent, a world in which the full discharge of our energies and the realisation of all our deepest desires become possible. A world without physical or mental pain and frustration. However, this nothing is also terrifying. It involves a painful process of personal breakdown and unlearning, a tearing away of all the skins of folly and falsehood—those very things whereby we sustain ourselves in a sick society. Most people shy away from such an agony, even if they are capable of comprehending its possibilities.

The new revolution was certainly about creating a new world. All its major theorists rejected the existing one wholly. Concomitantly, a great burst of creative energy was unleashed: the music, the poster art, the poetry, the jargon, the communes, the drug culture, the underground newspapers, the social service organisations, etc., etc. All that's, however, mostly on the grander scale. What happened down among the people? Well, I think, most people who were disposed to pay attention were affected. The high pitch of optimism and the rebellious, questioning attitude to things, all linked to a profound sense that things were really beginning to happen, probably did cause many people to reevaluate themselves and their relationships with others and with society, if only to a limited extent.

Why then does Richard Neville pronounce the end of an era? Why did things go wrong?

Laing would probably put it down to the fact that the process did not go far enough: that people did not totally destructure and remake themselves and their world. There were too many cop-outs and compromises, too many problems that couldn't be resolved as easily as growing a new head of hair or learning Blues guitar. There were a lot of hits too, that were, perhaps, too much for untamed youngsters to take (for a time, 'paranoid' was the foremost In-word). Also a great many people were happy just to parasite a collection of superficial gimmicks for their own personal enrichment without being concerned or capable of finding out what it was all really about. What should have been a return to the egg and a regrowth became just the sprouting of a set of new feathers.

What ultimately evolved in the sphere of human relationships was not a new authenticity but a new set of games, games perhaps more imaginative and sophisticated than the old games but games nevertheless, with all the invalidation of real experience that they involve, and the concomitant loneliness and despair.

Of course, the great difficulty with staging any mass movement of regeneration is that it has to take place within the existing social structure, there being no no-man's-land available in an area where the forces of authority have monopolized all resources. Thus the System was able to absorb so much that was new and revolutionary into itself, and emasculate it. The case of the music is particularly obvious. As a result, the musicians were cut off from their roots—the people, the kids. Of course it was okay for them as they could play out their own dreams in their own dream-world: the sublime Xanadus of youthful, long-haired Citizen Kanes. But for the kids, staring star-stricken across that inexorable gap that divides slow, mundane reality from the transcendental sphere of medial superhumanity there was just the pain of severance and failure. Thus the girls who queued outside stage doors to fuck with lead guitarists, the boys who told their friends how a friend of a friend had been to school with Mick Jagger. In other words, they felt that there was no really regenerative life available to them outside the honeyed arena of the media and so were not caused to re-examine themselves in the context of their local ambit, in relation to one another. Thus the rock revolution failed because it was split into two separate worlds, and both went dead for want of the necessary fertilizing influence of the other. The kids wither between the factory and the council estate; the superstars fly off into the void and go into eternal orbit.

To be with hip people today is to experience strange things. There are many who seem thoroughly devitalised, bereft of all energy and drive, who just sit waiting for something to happen, some bolt from the blue. It's rather like those primitive tribes who espouse cargo cults and, giving up work, just sit in silence waiting for a galleon from the skies to bring them all they need. Others still practice the mandatory activities—take dope, put on cool, talk in a John Peel mumble about beautiful things and mystical experiences, burn joss-sticks, play records endlessly. It gets strained and barely credible but goes on day in, day out, and if anyone were to question

it they'd get hounded. They are moving into more and more coming preoccupied. It is more acceptable in extreme cases, with violence.

The truth is that life has become a process of adjustment to a false explanation of reality, a veil drawn over the truth to evade the imperative to change in its own terms, but in others, remaining upon us. Only through regeneration and expanding crystalline structures can the world. Hipness. It has become, like a straight world which opposes, yet another of standing still, of staying in a wronghead.

There are alternative violent. Dr. Leary believes that killing is. Maybe in South Africa in South Shields? I go over to bloods. They are the real ideals of creativity, spontaneity, concern to relate to others are to be preserved.

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THIS WORLD

Where Anarchists Meet

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Where Anarchists Meet

IF WE ARE going to implement our ideas one requirement is that we meet and mutually discuss our plans. Every Sunday evening constructive anarchists (they want to achieve something now) meet in the Marquis of Granby, Cambridge Circus, from about 7.30 to 10.30. In Freedom Press there are meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m. No schedule of activities has been finalised for this year as yet. This is something that those who attend these meetings have the responsibility for. On January 20 there will be a seminar on anarchism which a number of people have agreed to contribute to already. This seminar arises directly out of a request of 20 students from Denison University, Ohio, to meet anarchists and have the opportunity to discuss their ideas and principles. More generally, the evening provides an opportunity for all interested in such a discussion and with the aim then of formulating an agenda of speakers and topics for future meetings to participate. Activities of a more general nature will also be dealt with. But, essentially, it is up to you. Thursday afternoons and evenings—when the very necessary chore of folding and despatching FREEDOM is attended to—also affords another convenient occasion for such general enquiry and planning.

CARRY IT ON

If evidence is required of the anarchic nature of hippy philosophy and creative activity this film, which has as its specific theme the life, songs and mission for peace of Joan Baez, supplies documentation. She points out that the fallacy in past revolutions has been the replacement of the old leadership with a new elite—essentially nothing changes. Her position is that of Tolstoyan pacifism and she makes the valid point that the pacifist

philosophy is fundamentally non-authoritarian; if enough people adopted it a new organisation of society—inevitably an anarchic one—would emerge and develop. Just as the anarchist principle of rejection of authority leads logically to the advocacy of a society organised without authority so must a postulation that force and violence be abandoned lead to arrangements based on mutual agreement and respect for others. CARRY IT ON suggests these conclusions with a clarity and persuasiveness that is rare in the cinema, even amongst those who strive to make these points.

The Dreadest Drug

In its war on drugs which it considers harmful the government employs hundreds of specialised police and secures the imprisonment of thousands of offenders. Some of these drugs, such as marijuana, have been accepted by the medical profession as being without known harmful effects and are still used by millions of people in other cultures. The most dangerous and lethal drug in common use brings enormous revenues both to the government (in Britain an estimated £1,200 millions) and business enterprises plus additional fortunes to the mass media in advertising income. The dangers of nicotine have been publicised by the medical profession for several years now.

Last week the Royal College of Physicians published its report in which it estimated that 20,000 deaths in males between the ages of 35 and 64 can be directly attributed to this drug. The important and humane point of the inquiry is that the public should be fully informed about the nature of what they use. Drugs, in some form, will be used by the great majority of people as a source of cultural enrichment. Alcohol in moderation is certainly in this category. It is unlikely, whatever other

measures they may take, that the government will outlaw nicotine. Nor should we wish this. People should claim the right to use whatever they wish—ordinary wisdom indicates that full information, uninfluenced by vulgar moralism, be available to all interested persons.

French chauvinism

French politicians have expressed concern that for the first time their expenditure on education (17%) exceeds that on war preparation (16.4%). They have now determined that France must not lag in the arms race and have endorsed plans to greatly increase their holding of thermonuclear weapons. France is partly motivated by prestige considerations and partly by a belief that the nations with the biggest bombs will be the victors in another world war. Patriotism is understandable in recently independent countries. But in the case of countries like France—or Britain, which is at least as guilty—it is unpardonable. As for the myth of the biggest bomb all impartial scientists—like Dr. Linus Pauling—have pointed out that a war involving these weapons would probably mean death to all human life and would certainly deny to any combatant the victory they seem to value so highly, notwithstanding the fearful loss of life that past wars have brought to all sides.

Power

'No governments are wise, and most are corrupt. With whatever conceptions a man may enter politics, he becomes infected with the foulest of all diseases, the lust of power; a victim, large or small, to the curse of megalomania, to the compulsion of imposing on his fellow men his own will. When he gains power, little or great, be he Prime Minister or Union Bureaucrat, he has as much consideration for those whose destinies are in his hands as a rat has for a louse or an elephant for the wriggling worm beneath his clumsy feet. The label under which he strives to rule is of no account. . . . Look at the bestial level of Bolshevism in its tyrannical

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it they'd get hounded as a heretic. Others are moving into more ruthless scenes: becoming preoccupied with money ('bread' is more acceptable), power and, in extreme cases, with violence.

The truth is that hipness has now itself become a process of mystification. It is a false explanation of what is happening, a veil drawn over the true facts, an evasion. The reality of experience and the imperative to come to grips with it in its own terms, both within ourselves and in others, remains the greatest call upon us. Only through this can we be regenerated and move out like an expanding crystalline growth to regenerate the world. Hipness is not now about this. It has become, like the ethos of the straight world which it purports to oppose, yet another false system: a way of standing still, of existing in a distorted way in a wrongheaded world.

There are alternatives. One can get violent. Dr. Leary apparently now believes that killing cops is a sacred act. Maybe in South Africa, but what about in South Shields? If people are going to go over to bloodshed and hatred, how are the real ideals of kindness, love, creativity, spontaneity and a genuine concern to relate to others as they really are to be preserved?

That they must be preserved seems to me to be incontrovertible. Yet, as I said earlier, this is going to be difficult. We are into a fallow, wintry period between death and rebirth. More and more people are coping out, adjusting, hardening up, adopting negativistic positions to keep alive in the bitter weather. When they come together socially for a little warmth they are going to play false games among their false selves; and even though that may generate a little temporary warmth, they're going to be twice as cold afterwards. Bereft of genuine human contact, how are people going to stay alive, yet alone keep their ideals alive?

The probability is that the forthcoming period will be a time of slow, quiet, but profound renewal. A period rather like the Dark Ages, which superficially seemed a spiritually dead period until more deeply examined, when it transpired to have been in reality a time of consolidation during which the wisdom of the Ancient World was thoroughly absorbed in readiness for the great upsurge of the Renaissance. It is necessary that people now reflect upon the whole wealth of ideas thrown up by the recent past, and come to more thoroughly understand them, undistracted as they will be by frenetic and sensational peripheral happenings. This is nowhere more true than in the case of Laing's ideas. But it

also applies in, say, the case of Oriental mysticism and, closer to home, in the case of anarchist belief. But reflection must also be married to emotional renewal—to a process of psychological liberation which will bring people into contact with the basic void. Then, when they are properly prepared, they will be ready to begin to create something new again. It will certainly come and it will undoubtedly be better than the last, although it will equally certainly not be the end of the story, if indeed the story can ever have an end.

JOHN SNELLING.

Revolution, Here and Now

Dear Editors,

Peter Grafton and Dennis Gould both wrote recently about revolution on a personal, here and now basis. I don't disagree seriously with anything either of them said, but I can't see a way round one or two problems, unless the answer IS a 'political revolution in the whole country' which Dennis fears and I feel unlikely to happen.

LETTER

The conclusion to Peter's article, that anarchists should get together and form communities as an example to those enmeshed in 'the system' is one that both Dennis, 'sharing with friends... informal community' and I hold. I think the key to the problem, for some, is to have enough land to grow their own food, or part of it, on. Obviously this is a debatable view, both as to feasibility and desirability and this isn't the place to develop it. May I refer Peter and Dennis and your readers to *Fat of the Land* by John Seymour, who lives in this way and writes instructively of his experiences.

The point I am trying to get to is, how do we obtain a house, and if necessary, enough land? Peter avoids this one and so does Dennis, merely telling us to 'cut out... To-The-Grave Mortgages'. I happen to know that Dennis pays rent approaching the amount of mortgage repayments, and unless we have that revolution, he will be paying rent for life. Whereas the comrade who gets a mortgage, for a bit more per week than Dennis' rent, has only 25 years (!) to go, and he will then own a house to leave to one of his kids. It's OK to take the view that mortgages are a big drag (assuming one is in a position to score one...) but paying £x for a room is no real alternative. Rent is forever. Is there a way round this?

Best wishes,

Exeter

JOHN DRIVER.

measures they may take, that the government will outlaw nicotine. Nor should we wish this. People should claim the right to use whatever they wish—ordinary wisdom indicates that full information, uninfluenced by vulgar moralism, be available to all interested persons.

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Informants and the Police

is that, in effect, a tiny elite—because they are in office—may keep the door closed on those who might wish to assist in the running of the paper. Nobody is excluded who merely wants to paste and despatch the paper. Nor is there any suggestion that those who now do this work should exclude newcomers. Why

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Informants and the Police

In countries—such as Ireland—which have had a long tradition of oppression and police persecution the lowest animal alive was always the informer. Whatever the rationale of the establishment for the police the simple human fact is that the police establishment is always opposed to human fraternity and solidarity. They are enemies of the people. Detective Chief Inspector Raymond Peeling admitted in the Central Criminal Court last week that informants were the 'life-blood of the CID'. There is an illusion that such vermin are usually ordinary members of the public doing their duty. In fact, as the Chief Inspector pointed out, the vast majority of informers are paid by the police for their dirty work. The police maintain a fund for that purpose, although they will not disclose the amount of business actually done.

Australia, the Veto and FREEDOM

After South Africa, few countries are as blatantly racist as Australia and New Zealand. This particularly refers to their immigration policies. Their fundamental position is that they are there and have the right of keeping out whoever they do not want.

In last week's FREEDOM we had an editorial which made some sound points about this paper but glossed over an error as grievous as the Australians. Like the latter, the editors (all three of them) are IN—at first sight it seems a reasonable and anarchic position that they should decide who should join them. But is the Australian position reasonable and just? I think most of us would think not. And one of the criticisms that is current about the structure at FREEDOM

is that, in effect, a tiny elite—because they are in office—may keep the door closed on those who might wish to assist in the running of the paper. Nobody is excluded who merely wants to paste and despatch the paper. Nor is there any suggestion that those who now do this work should exclude newcomers. Why should the editors have this veto? A veto which does much more harm than any alleged benefits.

Ethics for Science

Doctors have the Hippocratic oath which serves as an inspiration to their profession. Now Professor Meredith Thring, Head of the Department of Mechanical Engineering at Queen Mary College, London, has written an article for the *New Scientist* in which he advocates some similar code of ethics for scientists. This arises from the fact that scientists are often engaged in work that can be highly dangerous for his fellow human beings, the most obvious example being research on atomic and hydrogen warfare. The scientist, Professor Thring argues, should have a conscience about his work and be concerned with the application of his discoveries. The proposed dedication:

'I vow to strive to apply my professional skills only to projects which, after conscientious examination, I believe to contribute to the goal of co-existence of all human beings in peace, human dignity and self-fulfilment. I believe that this goal requires the provision of an adequate supply of the necessities of life (good food, aid, water, clothing and housing, access to natural and man-made beauty), education and the opportunities to enable each person to work out for himself his life objectives and to develop creativeness and skill in the use of the hands as well as the head. I vow to struggle through my work to minimise danger, noise, strain or invasion of privacy of the individual, pollution of earth, air or water; destruction of natural beauty, mineral resources, and wild life.'

BILL DWYER.